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AUTHOR Freidus, Helen
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ABSTRACT

Social feminists insist on the relevance of personal experience and believe that, for changes to occur, it is essential to understand the dynamics of how and why gender roles are perpetuated. Social feminists view the career course of second-career teachers as vulnerable to the covert structures and curriculum of the schools. The social feminist position is documented throughout this paper. A case study discusses the biography of a 37-year-old woman, Sally, and provides data demonstrating the presence of gender socialization as a factor in her career course. Sally expressed the motivation for her career change in terms of traditional gender traits, such as nurturing and gentleness, and of the continuity between women's work as mothers in a family and as teachers in schools. At the same time, her decision to teach is rooted in her opposition to the system in which she was educated. Her career change can, therefore, be viewed as motivated by a commitment to the possibility of social change. The data emerging from this study indicate that biography affects career motivation and performance and that gender socialization is an important component in biography, having a significant influence on who teachers and, ultimately, on what is taught and how. Implications for teacher education and the conduct of teacher education programs are indicated. (JD)

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THE CALL OF THE SIRENS? THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER IN THE DECISION TO CHOOSE TEACHING AS A CAREER CHANGE

by

Helen Freidus

Manhattanville College

Purchase, New York 10577

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THE CALL OF THE SIRENS? THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER IN THE DECISION TO CHOOSE TEACHING AS A CAREER CHANGE

In the 1970's, political and social change strengthened by the legislative support of Affirmative Action created new career options for women. The impact of these changes on the helping professions is well documented. Career change meant one thing - OUT. Today, however, we are seeing another swing of the pendulum (Crow, et. al; 1988; Boccia, 1989, Ruben 9/25/88). Women who chose to pursue career options in the traditionally male-dominated fields of business and the professions are deciding to leave those careers and to prepare for new careers as teachers. What does it mean when "liberated women" turn to careers in the "women's world" of education (Apple,1985, 1986; Feiman-Nemser and Floden,1986; Hoffman, 1981)?

What motivates these teachers? Are they pioneers returning to take a place on the cutting edge of educational reform or are they, like the sailors in Homeric tales, tired and weary of their ventures in uncharted seas, responding intuitively to the seductive cries of the sirens, the voices of generations of women socialized to a traditional social role? Will they become catalysts for change, advancing the professionalism of the teaching profession or, seeking comfort, will they forget their sense of mission as they become ensconced in the traditional "women's work" (Hoffman,1981). It is the assumption of this paper that the answers to these questions have significant implications for the recruitment and education of those teachers who choose teaching as a career change.

In an effort to address these matters, this research considers the meaning of the decision to become a career change teacher in the context of

individual biography. It is part of a larger study of second career teachers that began as a doctoral dissertation and has led to the implementation of a program specifically designed to recruit and meet the needs of those who enter teaching from other careers. The paper is divided into four sections. To provide a context in which this research may be more meaningfully presented, section one will briefly discuss the theoretical considerations from which this research emerges, the literature on gender socialization, teaching as a gender-linked profession, and the use of biography as a resource for insights into the motivation and practice of teachers. Section two will discuss the study's methodology and findings. Section three will describe the career course of one career change teacher. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which gender socialization may have impacted upon her career experience and her motivation to choose a career in teaching. Section four will address the implications of these findings for the recruitment and education of others who choose teaching as a career change.

Theoretical Considerations

Development of Gender Roles: The Traditional Psychodynamic View

Gender has been defined by some as a sociological construct of relationships based on ideologically determined roles (Tabakin & Densmore, 1986, p.277). By others, gender has been defined as qualities that are biologically determined (Brenner, 1974). It is gererally agreed, however, that whether or not gender traits begin as biological determinants, they are shaped and reinforced by social expectations.

In our society, gender traits tend to be polarized. Femininity is associated with nurturance, other-directedness, dependence, and docility. Masculinity is associated with independence, goal- directedness, self-assertion and critical though. According to psychodynamic theory, gender

roles are rooted in the individual's struggle for separation and individuation. Both boys and girls bond in infancy to the primary caretaker, traditionally the mother. Movement outward toward independence from this symbiotic state is the course of normal development. As children approach the oedipal stage, the nature of the developmental course becomes increasingly gender linked. Girls continue to follow the gender role model of the mother, while boys cast aside this role model, particularly its empathic ties, and walk in the shoes of their fathers (Chodorow, 1978, Gilligan, 1982).

According to this theory, the tensions generated by the need to separate from the mother continue throughout life. The woman, because her gender role model is her mother, continues to be more attached, less differentiated. This provides greater access to intersubjective experience for the mother- daughter dyad and for women in general. Pressured by social dictates of the developmental course of a "real boy," the male separates from his mother before he is psychologically mature. Defensively, through his need to suppress his original identification with his mother, he creates a conception of patriarchy that leads to a sense of superiority in adult life. According to the rationale of psychodynamic theory, these unresolved tensions and the patterns of cognition developing from them form the underpinnings of patriarchal structures that pervade our culture and shape the career paths of men and women (Chodorow, 1978; Benjamin in Bragonier, 1985, Dinnerstein, 1976).

Freud (1961) argued that these different developmental experiences destine women to be less autonomous. The cognitive counterpart of this argument is that women are less capable of critical, objective, and divergent thought (Piaget, 1932). Perceived as less differentiated and less cognitively

developed, women are consequently perceived to be less able to grapple meaningfully with political, philosophic, and social issues (Kohlberg,1973). These theories have been used to rationalize anti-intellectual attitudes towards women and to support policies of sexual discrimination (Gilligan, 1982). Attitudes shaped by these theories continue to be pervasive in the "modern" world. They shape the environment in which women work and affect the way women feel about themselves and their work (Miller, 1987).

Gender Roles: A Feminist Interpretation

Although rooted in psychoanalytic thought, social feminist theory provides an alternative interpretation for the development of gender roles. According to this theory, girls are not inadequately differentiated but differently differentiated. Attachment and nurturance do not prevent mature development; they lead to maturity through a different route (Gilligan, 1982). It is not gender development that destines women to a subordinate position, but society's interpretation of this development (Chodorow, 1978). Traditional psychoanalytic thought interprets polarized gender roles as the normal, desirable course of development. Feminist thought, while acknowledging the historical tradition of these roles, insists on the reconsideration of this interpretation.

Gender in the Workplace: The Nature of Change

The efforts of the feminist movement have been responsible for many changes in the experiences women encounter in their work experience. However, there is a lack of unanimity, even among feminist theorists, regarding the kinds of changes necessary for the elimination of gender-linked expectations and traditional gender-linked division of labor (Tabakin & Densmore,1986). Liberal feminists view gender as a biological given, a

given that forms the basis for discrimination and denial of access. They seek no special privileges for women, just equal opportunity to participate and succeed within a given economic and social system. Liberal feminists would view the potential career course of second career teachers as vulnerable only to possible job discrimination.

In contrast to liberal feminism, social feminist theory insists on the relevance of personal experience. Social feminists believe that in order for important changes to occur in the structures of society, it is essential to understand the nature of the relationships between men and women and the dynamics of how and why gender roles are perpetuated (Weiler,1988). Home and school, two mutually reinforcing substructures of society, are perceived as primary agents in the process of gender socialization. Social feminists would view the career course of second career teachers as vulnerable to the covert structures and curriculum of the schools. It is this position that is documented throughout this paper.

The women's movement has contributed to the extension of role expectations in the last two decades. Doors once closed to women now appear wide open. And, for many, they are. Yet, now as always, success in the business world is directly related to the ability to set goals, to clearly define and separate personal and professions concerns, to demonstrate leadership and managerial skills, and to be willing and able to participate in the politics of everyday life (Aisenberg and Harrington,1988; Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). The socialization of men, from childhood on, involves systematic development of these attitudes and skills . The socialization of women, traditionally and currently, gives little heed to these attitudes and skills. Consequently, many women are unable to recognize and respond

appropriately to these ever-present but unarticulated requirements for career success (Aisenberg and Harrington,1988).

Gender Traits in the Workplace: The Schools

If teachers are to become classroom leaders and decision makers, professionals with their own voice, participants in the shaping of educational policy, they will need the same attitudes and skills necessary for success in the business world. These career descriptors are the goals of most career change teachers (Freidus,1989). However, in schools the problems of unarticulated requirements for career development become even more complex. It was in school as well as home that women internalized those gender roles so often related to the dissatisfaction and discomfort they have felt in the context of their business careers.

The gender hierarchy in the schools mirrors the patriarchal structure of the family. The traditionally male administrator functions as a counterpart of the *pater familias* in the home - giving directions, setting policy, even dealing with serious problems of discipline. Curriculum is often designed outside the classroom, leaving the teacher to execute rather than to create classroom policy as a woman in a traditional home often carries out her husband's wishes rather than creating her own philosophy of family life. Standardized tests are instruments for measuring success, subordinating the classroom teacher's knowledge and insights to the criteria of outside, often male, "experts." The subtle pervasiveness of these old familiar structures may lead career change teachers to respond in the gender-appropriate ways they were taught as children (Miller,1987; Janeway, 1971). As they become socialized to the world of the teacher, they

are at risk of forgetting the goals that motivated their career decisions, assuming once more "woman's proper place" in the social hierarchy.

The Feminization of Teaching

In order to understand the force of this socialization process, we must understand how the classroom came to be perceived as a woman's world. Although teaching was once the sole province of men, today 83% of elementary school teachers and 49% of secondary school teachers are women (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Apple (1985, 86, 87) suggests that as teaching became "feminized", it, in essence, became a different occupation - an occupation with less autonomy, lower wages, and limited upward mobility.

The historical relationship between the division of labor in the family and the kinds of paid work women tend to do has been well documented (Deem,1978; Barrett 1980; Apple,1985,1987). When women became teachers, the characteristics of the role they played in the family - service, compliance, and nurturing - were brought with them as job descriptors of their new careers. During the years that men dominated the classrooms, these qualities were not cited as hallmarks of the good teacher. Rather, it was strength, moral integrity, and cognitive competence that were sought.

New Opportunities for Women in Education

How did women come to outnumber men in the classrooms? The answers can be found in the economic and social conditions of the nineteenth century. Partly, the issue was one of supply and demand. The development of compulsory schooling in the United States led to a significant increase in the student population. During this same period when the native born student population was increasing, new waves of

immigration were bringing unprecedented numbers of children into this country. Assimilation of immigrants into the American mainstream was considered essential to the maintenance of the American values and mores. Schools were seen as the most effective instrument for this assimilation (Tyack,1974).

Nine thousand teaching positions existed in 1890; forty-two thousand existed by 1910 (Lanier & Little, 1986). If schools had continued to be structured in the traditional manner with each teacher receiving a wage that could support a family, the cost would have been prohibitive. The need to change hiring practices led to the search for a cheap pool of labor.

Women could and did fill the growing need for teachers. Women found teaching a desirable occupation, competed for positions, and were, generally, willing to accept one-half to one-third the salary of men. Their reasons were practical. Most opportunities in business and the professions were closed to them. Teaching was one of the few acceptable options for a genteel girl, one of the few options that offered working class girls an opportunity for status and social mobility.

As women moved into the classrooms, men moved out. Many found greater career opportunity in the country's industrial expansion. Those who stayed found career opportunities with higher status, pay, and power in the growing hierarchies of school administration (Apple, 1985; Kaestle,1983), a hierarchy designed on the model of the corporate world (Tyack, 1974). In this hierarchy, autonomy and decision-making were entrusted to those on the higher rungs. Those on the lower rungs, classroom teachers, were carefully controlled and monitored. Not so coincidentally, this hierarchy corresponded to the newly evolving gender-linked distribution of labor in the schools.

Teaching: An Extension of Women's Domestic Role

The controls and limitations newly imposed upon teachers were not, however, viewed by women as deterrents. For women, credentialing and certification were perceived as a means of documenting their knowledge and proving their worth outside the home. Women had never experienced autonomy. Hence, the controls men found objectionable, women perceived as a structure within which they could comfortably function. Carrying out the philosophy and plans of others was the role to which women were traditionally socialized (Schwager, 1987; Strober & Tyack, 1980). Women were willing to reinforce the sexual stereotype in order to carve out an area in which they could assert power, limited though it was. For some this was, probably, a political decision; for others, it was an outgrowth of personal ideology (Sklar, 1973; Rothman, 1978, Martin, 1986). In either case, women were willing to accept opportunities in teaching despite the implicit and explicit gender discrimination involved.

A Climate of Control: Teacher as Instrument

Control was the goal of the early standardization of school structure, grades and subject matter. A transient teacher population made it necessary, in the eyes of educational leaders, to provide a means for continuity of instruction in the schools. The achievement of interchangeable parts was the model of the day in the industrial sector; standardized curriculum and teacher-proof materials provided a counterpart in education. The anti-intellectual attitude toward women gave male managers little faith that the growing ranks of women teachers would be

able to make appropriate educational judgments. Standardization would protect against potential problems, and would enable women to utilize their "feminine" strengths in carrying out prescribed educational programs (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). That it would also discourage women from developing personally and professionally (Elbaz, 1983) was not a problem, since this meshed with society's limited expectations for woman. The legacy of this process by which teaching was feminized pervades expectations of and for the classroom teacher to this day.

Gender Traits and the Curriculum: Social Reproduction

Traditional education seeks to preserve the dominant culture, to deliberately and systematically transmit the knowledge, values, and mores of one generation to the next (Freire1984). To facilitate this, according to reproduction theory, a hidden curriculum implicit in school structures underlies articulated goals and objectives (Weiler,1988; Popkewitz,1986). Through this hidden curriculum, students gain a world view that perpetuates existing power structures and social and economic relationships (Apple,1982, Bowles and Gintis,1976). This world view is shaped by both what is taught and to whom it is taught. It is a process in which the teacher, serving as an instrument of society, molds students towards culturally approved norms. Included in these norms are socially-approved gender roles. (Aisenberg & Harrington,1988; Weiler,1988).

Sex-typed behaviors begin in pre-school and are shaped consciously and unconsciously by teachers throughout the school years (Jones,1989). Boys are taught to be active in their exploration, assertive in their interactions, rational in their thinking, and aggressive in their achievements. Girls are taught to follow the model of their mothers and female teachers.

They are taught to value form above achievement, to be modest and charming, to take their cue from others, and to value intuition over reason (Deem 1980). Girls are taught that competitive means aggressive; true merit will be recognized and rewarded for its own sake (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988).

Reproduction theory asserts that schools promote in students those traits that are essential qualities for success in the roles they will play throughout their lives. The parameters of those roles are, however, circumscribed by traditional gender stereotypes (Weiler,1988. Barrett, 1980). Those who are seeking a career change into teaching are destined to re-encounter a hidden curriculum of social expectations. If they are to be successful in their chosen role as change agents, they need to be made cognizant of these dynamics before they enter the classroom. This cognizance must then be sustained throughout their teaching careers.

Social Resistance

The processes of cultural reproduction may be ever-present in the schools. However, Gramsci (in Weiler,1988) suggests that the complex consciousness of the individual enables the power of personal agency to exist and to resist the hidden agenda of the school hierarchy. All the while that people are being molded by institutions, they resist that molding. Men and women negotiate the messages of schools in light of their own emotional, intellectual, and material needs (Kelly and Nihlen in Apple, 1982). It is this resistance that has made it possible for the women's movement to bring to consciousness and to challenge many of the attitudes and expectations that underlie the content of everyday life (Weiler,1988). It is this resistance that keeps the possibility of social transformation and

educational reform alive. The issues of reproduction and resistance are particularly important when considering the attitudes and expectations of career change teachers. To which messages are these teachers responding in their motivations to become teachers? How can teacher education programs help these men and women to understand their own motivations and the relationship of these motivations to their actions in the classroom?

The Function of Biography

> (The teacher's) intentions will inevitably be affected by the assumptions she makes regarding human nature and human possibilities. Many of these assumptions are hidden, most have never been articulated.
>
> (Greene in Bussis, Chittendon, & Amarel, 1976, p.69)

There is a growing body of literature that indicates teacher attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions influence how teachers respond to the context of the classroom (Bullough, 1989; Zeichner, 1981, 86, Goodman, 1987). To effect personal and professional growth in teachers, and to provide a catalyst for meaningful change in the nature of classrooms, researchers must first understand the motivations of those who choose careers in teaching and the attitudes, beliefs and dispositions that accompany these motivations. Teacher biograph, in its quest for understanding the relationship between life experience and teaching, functions as valuable research tool to this end.

Implications of the Literature

Although career opportunities available to women have increased significantly in the past decade, traditional gender expectations still persist

at home and in the workplace. These mediate the career course of the "modern woman" in both obvious and subtle ways.

The sexual polarity of gender traits in our society still supports the belief that woman's primary place is in the home, man's in the public sphere (Miller, 1987). The structures of home and school reinforce this message, thus leading boys and girls to internalize sex-linked attitudes and expectations that persist throughout the life course. The social changes that began in the sixties have led to an altered set of expectations for both men and women. These, however, appear to exist in addition to rather than instead of the already internalized gender-linked attitudes and expectations. Moreover, whereas attitudes and behaviors that lead to the fulfillment of traditional gender expectation have been carefully taught and nurtured over the years, the attitudes and behaviors necessary for fulfillment of the new expectations have not been. Consequently, women must often forge their ways in the public sphere without an understanding of the "rules of the game" (Aisenberg & Harrington,1988; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987), without a fundamental understanding of how to negotiate their way in a traditionally male world.

Those women who seek a career in teaching are not exempt from the career constraints imposed by gender expectations or biographical experience. On the contrary, if they seek to move beyond the confines of traditional gender roles, they must do so within the context of the very environment that contributed so greatly to shaping the attitudes and expectations underlying these roles. The nineteenth century vision of teaching as an extension of domestic work still influences the form and content of the educational world. Through the structures of the schools, the format of instruction and the content of the curriculum, teachers,

administrators, and teacher educators socialize themselves as they socialize their students to meet the expectations of society. Despite the social changes that have occurred in recent decades, the literature confirms that these expectations include the perpetuation of gender traits. These gender traits and patterns of gender socialization are neither good nor bad in themselves, but when they are take as naturally given rather than socially constructed, they may lead to educational procedures and classroom behaviors that impede the growth and development of both teachers and student (Popkewitz, 1987; Weiler, 1988).

Now we are encountering a new population of aspiring teachers, a population that has chosen a different route of entry into teaching. The methodology described in the following section was designed to respond to the need to understand who these people are and what brings them to teaching. The case study and analysis that follow examines the ways in which the career motivations and career decisions of one second career teacher reflects insights emerging from the body of literature discussed above and what implications these motivations and the attitudes and expectations that underlie them have for teacher recruitment and teacher education.

Methodology

This case study is one of four in-depth case studies, two of men and two of women, who have chosen teaching as a career change. Case study was chosen as the methodology most suitable to the exploration of gender socialization as a motivating influence in the decision to become a career change teacher. The goal of the research was to seek out patterns in the

biography of the subject and to relate these pattern to the literature on gender socialization.

The study emerged as a response to the observation that among the student populations of the two colleges of teacher education in which the researcher was serving as a supervisor of pre-service teachers in 1986, there appeared to be a surprising number of women who were choosing to leave such careers as law, engineering, banking, and computers to become teachers. The question immediately arose as to why these individuals would choose to surrender their hard-won careers in fields with status and financial rewards to enter the classroom. All of these women spoke of their desire "to make a difference," "to do something meaningful with their lives" "to be needed and to give " "to make things different for the next generation." They spoke in terms that are generally descriptive of service careers, careers that are traditionally women's fields. How, if at all, were these motivations related to issues of gender socialization?

To address these questions, an exploratory study was begun. Phase One consisted of mini-case studies of two career change teachers, one male and one female. The behaviors of women in women's schools or in communities where men have gone to war are far less gender-linked than those in the everyday workworld of men and women. It seemed logical, therefore, that a case study attempting to highlight the gender socialization of women would be more meaningful when juxtaposed to a similar case study of a man.

The effort to make meaning out of Phase One findings led to the realization that the existing pool of knowledge about career change teachers is minimal. The growth of this population is just beginning to be recognized and documented by the literature. To establish a better knowledge base,

Phase Two of the pilot study was initiated. Interviews were held with twenty-five career-changers to explore their past career history and the attitudes and expectations underlying their motivation to embark upon a career in teaching. During these interviews, four career patterns related to ages of the subjects were consistently described:

1) Women in their mid to late twenties who had been deterred from a career in teaching - Job shortages, poor pay, and the prevalent attitude that teaching was no longer considered to be an appropriate career for intelligent women led them to explore other career opportunities. These women experienced success in the business world. However, some were uncomfortable with the values or mores that accompanied the path to success. Others were no longer willing to sustain the lifestyle they perceived as necessary for continued growth up the career ladder. In the words of one subject: "I am a great player, but I am tired of the game."

2) Men in their late thirties to early forties who were perceived by the researcher as "children of the sixties" - These men began their entry into adult life focused on public service concerns, but as they reached mid-to-late twenties, they felt the pressure to prove themselves by traditional measures of career success. A decade or more later, they feel dissatisfied and once again want to do something "meaningful" with their lives.

3) Women in their late thirties to early forties who were motivated by the opportunities created by the women's movement - These women were trail blazers in the business world. They enthusiastically climbed the career ladder until, unexpectedly, they stopped finding their work as rewarding or enjoyable as it once had been. Their dissatisfaction motivated a reevaluation of their life course and a decision to seek out a career in which they could give of themselves.

4) Men in their late forties and early fifties, who, having taken advantage of early retirement programs or the sale of a business, no longer had to be concerned about financial security - These men wanted both to contribute to society and to meet new challenges.

Initial findings confirmed Levinson's (1978,1984,1986) position that life experience and career experience are interrelated. These findings also supported the corollary to this position that gender socialization is one aspect of the life course that affects and is affected by career experience. On this basis, the study proceeded.

The case study described in part three of this paper discusses the biography of Sally, age 37 , a representative of the third career pattern. A variety of data-generating instruments were used in the study. The research interview as described by Mishler (1986) served as an organizing instrument. According to this model, interviewer and respondent worked together to clarify and extend meaning. Analysis of questions and responses was subsequently made within the context of shared historical understandings thus insuring mutuality of meaning (Mishler, 1986).

Additional sources of data collection included autobiographical statements, reflection papers written by the subject, classroom observation, and researcher diary. The variety of data sources and subject responses to shared interpretations provided forms of triangulation (Agar, 1980) through which consistency of meaning and interpretation could be verified.

Data was analyzed on an ongoing basis. Data and interpretations were then filtered into a narrative biography designed to provide a portrait of the subject. The biography was submitted to the subject with a request for comments regarding 1) accuracy of the narrative 2) the emergence of themes, patterns or points of interest that stood out in her reading of the

narrative. These comments were recorded and appropriate modifications were made. At this point, the researcher turned back to the literature, reflecting conjointly on the readings and the recorded data. Patterns and systematic connections grounded in theory (Glaser and Strauss,1975) began to appear, illuminating the relationship between the attitudes and beliefs of the subjects and their motivations to change to teaching as a career. Gender socialization surfaced as one among many factors contributing to these career decisions.

There is no question but that the sample of this study is too small, the interview protocol too individualized, for the findings to be generalizable. The study does, however, pose some important issues that need to be considered when teacher education programs consider recruitment of and program design for career change teachers. The impact of gender socialization on the individual and on the classroom is one of these issues. The case study that follows provides data demonstrating the presence of gender socialization as a factor in the career course of one teacher. The data describes values and attitudes echoed in other case studies, values and attitudes that corroborate the literature discussed in Part One of this paper.

Case Study: Sally, Age 37

For Sally, school had been torture. Neither the work nor the environment gave her any pleasure. Her teachers were rarely supportive. Her achievements were few. Only in college did she begin to realize that learning could be both enjoyable and rewarding. Even then, it was with a sigh of relief that she received her diploma and exited the groves of academe. The business world offered Sally a clean slate. She loved her career in data processing and thrived on it. For twelve years, she worked to

win the promotions and salary increases that were testimony to her professional commitment and competence. Then, suddenly, the work rewarding though it was, seemed inadequate. The corporate world was no longer a haven. Sally felt the tug to begin a new career, a career that involved not only going back to school but working in schools. Sally decided to become a teacher.

At the beginning of her career path, Sally happened into the world of data processing. Her entry-level position in customer relations had involved working with computers. When Sally shared her enthusiasm for this aspect of her work with her father, he encouraged her to apply for a career position in a new data processing center his employer was planning to open, Sally successfully went through the interview process and won a position as one of the first trainees in he new program. As a woman, Sally proved to be a pioneer in the field. Looking back on the class pictures that were taken during her training program, Sally sees herself, the only woman in a group of thirty men.

> This was a little bit difficult, because I'd be sent on business trips, and it would be all men. Someone would say, "Let's go out for drinks tonight, and I was really excluded. Still, the work was a challenge and it was fun being there.

The scarcity of women changed when affirmative action policies began to be enforced in the late 70's. Today data processing divisions employ men and women fairly equally. However, the old ways die hard; male networking continues to be a reality in the field and women's roles tend to be circumscribed. In 1988, Sally notes that the corporation for which she worked had only one woman on the Board of Directors and one woman senior vice president. "It's discouraging when there are no real role models."

Sally describes her career in data processing enthusiastically. It was a satisfying career. She felt her work was important and her growing status in the corporation coupled with salary increase indicated that others agreed. Why, then, did her career cease to be so rewarding? Part of the answer is explained by Sally's perceptions of the mores and values embedded in the upper echelon of the corporate environment. "Play the political game or don't succeed." was an all-pervasive message. Sally could not or would not be a political person. "Be a self-starter," they said. In theory, Sally had no problem with this message. However, she found that" a self-starter in the business world meant being aggressive and, in her eyes, almost unethical."

> "I was never aggressive enough for the business world.. If you're quiet in the business world and you get the job done, but you don't blow your own horn, you don't get noticed or recognized."

When it happened that others stole the laurels by taking credit for her work, she felt betrayed, she fumed, but she did not speak up. Sally could see what the steps were to hasten her ascent up the career ladder, but they were not steps that she was able or willing to take.

> "If my client said, 'Wow, this is great.' the next step, which I never mastered, should have been to go to my boss and say, 'So-and-so just said what a fantastic job I did.'...or to say to my client 'Would you put it in writing, I want to give it to my boss.' "

The turning point of Sally's corporate career occurred when she was assigned to a project introducing computers to a division of 80 leery men and women. She won them over by showing the relevance of the project and designing curriculum and methodology through which necessary knowledge and skills were readily disseminated. For Sally, this project proved to be most rewarding. The self-esteem and the connectedness she felt during the length of this project were unique. She checked with personnel to see what

kinds of opportunities for positions in corporate education existed within the organization, but nothing was immediately available. At this point, Sally began to reflect back on her experiences as a camp counselor during her college years..

> I never thought I would enjoy teaching, but I ended up loving it. I always liked working with the children. So I thought, "..maybe I'll try to combine two loves."

Sally decided to investigate a career in education.

Sally's close friends and family were very supportive of her new career plans; acquaintances from the business world thought her decision was bizarre. "You are crazy," she was told. "You are giving up a career to go to a job that's going to pay you next to nothing." Their words did not faze Sally. She had spent a great deal of time considering the realities of the situation.

It was not nostalgia for her own school days that motivated Sally's decision to become a teacher. Sally had attended both public and parochial schools. "I think I liked kindergarten. Then I don't remember ever liking school again until college. Classes in grade school were overcrowded, and rules were strict." Sally's parents, brought up to believe in the authority of the church, believed that teachers and nuns were always right. "If you complained and said, 'I got hit today and I didn't do anything," their response would be 'Well, you must have done something.'"

Schoolwork was difficult for Sally, but her parents were supportive of her efforts to achieve academically. Their support stood out in contrast to the attitudes she encountered in school. "I think I've always had a love of learning, but it was almost drummed out of me in school. Drill and practice, and you were stupid if you didn't succeed."

The childhood Sally remembers outside of school was warm and happy with a close family life. The family sat down to dinner together each night. Friends of Sally and her brother would often join them. When Sally and her brother were in college, conversations frequently became animated as the talk turned to politics. Sally's father delighted in being intellectually provocative during these debates. Sally's mother would play the peace-maker. "She (Sally's mother) was not the least bit afraid to express her opinion, but she would look at something more from the heart."

Sally sees herself as reflecting qualities of both her parents. "I feel like I got my heart, my soft side, from my mother and more of my intellect and objectivity from my father." Her father taught her that she could be anything she wanted to be. Her mother was her role model for developing a real concern for people.

Sally's parents hoped that both children would do well in school. "...It didn't matter that I was the girl and he was the boy, they wanted us both to have a college education." Their expectations for the two were not equally consistent in other areas. Sally was a tomboy. Her brother was always very artistic. My father would say to him:

> Will you please join the Little League?" That I can remember as a conflict. And my mother would say to me "Get in this house and play with your dolls. Stop running around the street.'

Sally's life course has proved to be quite different from what she would have anticipated as a child. Despite her tomboyish interests, she never doubted that she, like her mother, would marry and have children. Yet, when the time came, she never felt any real pressure to get married. Although Sally's parents probably also thought that she would marry and have children, they have always been supportive of her choice. They had

always tried to give her the resources to be independent. "I don't think that, now, they're the least bit surprised that I'm able to support myself."

Sally's vision of the kind of classroom she hopes to have has been shaped, partly, in reaction to the negative experiences she had as a child, partly, by her more positive experiences learning and teaching in the years following high school, and, partly, by her experiences as a student teacher. Sally's co-operating teacher provided both Sally and the children with a stimulating and supportive educational environment. It is Sally's goal to create this same kind of enthusiasm in her own classroom. Sally recalls how she, herself, always had felt powerless in school. Sally believes she can be the kind of teacher who empowers children.

> ... I seem to relate really well to children. ... I'm hoping to give them as many opportunities to succeed in the class as they need. I can always remember feeling like a failure, and I don't want the kids to feel that way.

Sally fears less about her performance in the classroom than about her ability to cope with the confrontations that may occur with parents or colleagues. Assertiveness, the area that was problematic in business, may prove to be a trouble spot in teaching as well. Sally knows that she is more likely to defer to others than to speak out for herself. However, she has pinpointed this as an area in which she hopes to grow.

The school Sally has chosen is not a public school but a parochial one. Her friends laughed when Sally told them of her decision. Sally laughs too. Who would have thought that Sally, who had suffered and struggled so as a schoolgirl, could have made so successful a career for herself in business? Who could have imagined that Sally would then leave this career to become a teacher, a teacher in a Catholic school? To Sally, it makes perfect sense.

> When I worked in the business world, I always felt I was good and competent at what I did. If you wanted the job done, I was the person you could go to. But here [in teaching], after I get some experience behind me, I'm going to excel. ...I had so much more to give than I was giving in business. I only got to use a certain percentage of my skills, and not always the best ones. There was never an opportunity for nurturing, gentleness, a sense of humor. I didn't want to go to my grave having so much to give and not giving it. The best of me is yet to give.

Sally is now immersed in her first years of teaching. She is experiencing the trials and tribulations that every novice teacher must, in some way, experience. Although Sally has always prided herself on being an organized person, as a teacher, she finds her organizational abilities challenged to the hilt. She worries that with all the demands with which she must cope, she, like so many teachers she has known, will lose sight of the children, their needs, their interests, their joy in the spontaneous.

> The image in my mind is like the movies you see of a mob scene with two people separated by a crowd. The people look back, arms outstretched, but they are being pulled along by the crowd, away from where they really want to be. Well I feel the schedule and curriculum pull me away from the kids. Anyway, I <u>do not</u> intend to let this happen.

It may be that it is not only the schedule and the curriculum that are pulling Sally away from her goals but also the socialization she has experienced as a student, a teacher, and a woman (Zeichner, 1981; Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Apple, 1986)

<u>Case Study Analysis</u>

Sally has chosen a career in teaching with a sense of mission. She wants to give to the next generation, "to make things different." She frames what differentiates that which she can contribute through a career in teaching from that which which she could contribute through a career in the

business world in terms of "nurturing and gentleness." In so doing and in expressing her own needs for a sense of connectedness, Sally is expressing the motivation for her career change in terms of traditional gender traits.

Reproduction theory (Popkewitz,1986; Weiler,1988) takes the position that all students are shaped by their school experiences to accept a way of being in the world, to internalize a social reality that leads to the reproduction of existing power relationships and social and economic structures. Schools, according to this theory, promote in students "the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy" (Althusser, in Weiler,1988, p.9). It is hard to imagine a school experience more exemplary of this interpretation than Sally's experience in parochial school. The goals of the school were implicitly and explicitly to transmit the culture of the church and to preserve its hierarchical power structure. "If you looked cross-eyed, Boom! You got smacked." If Sally complained to her parents, they showed their continued support for her but upheld the system. "Well, you must have done something." Drill and practice, the modus operandi of the school, is an example of what Freire (1970) refers to as the "banking approach" to teaching, an approach wherein teachers withdraw deposits from their store of knowledge and deposit them into the minds of their students. In Sally's school experience, there was no room for questioning. Divergence from the system was equated with stupidity. These were formative years in the shaping of Sally's consciousness. While her subsequent success in college gave her a feeling of strength, it did not totally reshape the self-image developed in earlier years. It did not change the position in the power hierarchy she saw as hers.

Sally's career path began with customer relations work. Next, she moved into the area of data processing. In these fields, many of the qualities of the parochial school girl proved to be assets. She was neat and conscientious, courteous and respectful of authority. Her proficiency at following directions facilitated the early progress of her career. It appears that it was her inability to break out of this schoolgirl mode, the inability to be assertive and aggressive, "to blow her own horn", which put a cap on her career aspirations.

Sally did strike out from the traditional path prescribed by the social and economic system in which she had been brought up. She opted for a non-traditional career path and became financially independent. As her accomplishments grew, she felt increasingly torn between the behavioral expectations she encountered in the business world and the traditional gender expectations she had internalized at home and at school. Sally attributed the disequilibrium she felt to the fact that she was a "quiet" person. Quiet is what "young ladies" are expected to be. Assertive is what business people are expected to be.This tension between the two sets of expectations may well have contributed to her dissatisfaction with a corporate career. Reproduction theory would view this as inevitable.

Sally knew what she needed to do to climb higher up the career ladder. Yet, she could not or would not "play the game." Aisenberg and Harrington, (1988, p.45) speak at length of the lack women experience in "guidance and instruction in the actual rules of the game." Women, they point out, have little idea of how to plan a professional life. They do not set long and short term goals but, with a vague idea of the possibilities ahead, they feel their way along a career path. Focused on the immediate situation, they become frustrated when others, no more able but more directed, pass

them by. These others are frequently men. Conflicted by self-doubt, they blame themselves. They confuse their lack of gamesmanship with lack of competence. Not particularly assertive or aggressive to begin with, they become less so when riddled with doubt. At this point, a smoothly flowing career moves into a holding pattern.

It is easy to see how such a template could be applied to Sally's career. Her career goals were never clearly articulated. She made decisions about what she wanted to do and where she wanted to be, but each decision was based on the availability of options at a given point in time. She did not work towards specific achievements. Quiet, not aggressive, proving her competence and gaining self-confidence only after high school, she was not versed in the skills that would enable her to move along the fast track.

Aisenberg and Harrington describe the "merit dream",women's tendency to shun politics and to believe that a job well done will speak for itself. The reality, they say, as does Sally, is that to develop one's career, one must "blow one's own horn." This reality, they continue, engenders in many women a repugnance, a repugnance that "is strong enough to outweigh, in many instances, prudent requirements of self-protection" (p.56]). This repugnance seems less surprising when one realizes that the reality of institutional career paths runs counter to the role women have been socialized to play at home and in school (Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978, Weiler, 1988; Barrett, 1980]). To announce one's accomplishments is not appropriate for a young lady or a proper schoolgirl. Sally's parents were always supportive of her. They wanted her to go to college, to surpass their own achievements, but at the same time, they did not want either of their children to really be different. They wanted Sally to play with dolls, to take dancing lessons, to be a young lady. They unquestioningly strove to transmit

to Sally a respect for the values and structure of the world in which they lived. In so doing, they, together with school and church, shaped the way she perceived the world and how she acted as a child and continues to act as a woman.

While she was growing up, Sally never doubted that she would lead a life similar to that her mother led. Deems (in Weiler, 1988) emphasizes the continuity between women's work as mothers in a family and as teachers in primary schools. If one accepts the premises of reproduction theory alone, there is little doubt but that Sally's decision to become a teacher would mean that one more woman was taking her place in the traditional hierarchy of the schools. Inadequately equipped to assert herself in the corporate world, she has turned back to "women's work". However, Resistance Theory provides an alternate interpretation. Gramsci (in Weiler, 1988, p.14) describes hegemony as an organizing principle or world view diffused into every area of life by agencies of ideological control, most notably, schools,. However, he posits that the consciousness of individuals subject to this hegemony are strangely composite. As people are being molded by cultural institutions to accept things as they are, they, simultaneously, resist this molding. Hence, the possibilities for personal agency and social transformation remain great.

Kelly and Nihlen (in Apple, 1982) point out that women do not accept the ideological message of school without question, but "negotiate that knowledge in light of their own emotional, intellectual and material needs" (Kelly and Nihlen in Apple, 1982, p.175). When asked whether she had ever considered taking an entry level position as a secretary, Sally replied, "It's funny. In school, I almost expected that you had to be in the position of taking orders. That's how it was. But once I got out of school, I did not want

Sally's decision to become a teacher differs from the traditional motivations of teachers as described by Lortie (1975). She had job security where she was...and at a higher salary than that which she would earn as a teacher. She does not have children, therefore, she was not concerned with a work schedule compatible with that of her family. She wants to contribute to society, but not with the spirit of a missionary. She is her own provider; she must pay her own mortgage.

Sally's decision to teach is rooted in her opposition to the system in which she was educated at the same time that it is shaped by that very system. Sally comes from a family in which education is valued, but she does not want to step into the tradition in which she was educated. Her desire to become a teacher stems from her belief that school does not have to be the way it was for her. Sally's career change can, thus, be viewed as motivated by a commitment to the possibility of social change.

Sally's vision of the possibility of social change and her own sense of agency appear to be, in part, rooted in the changes effected by the women's movement. From being the only woman working with a group of thirty men in 1975, Sally found herself five years later in a field that was composed of 50 per-cent women. Discussing her choice to lead a single life, Sally commented, "Had I been born ten years earlier, maybe I would have felt really pressured to get married, but everything was changing so much at the time. It didn't seem unusual for me to choose a life different from what I thought I would have." Social changes like these gave Sally license to question other institutions in her life and fueled her sense of personal agency (Weiler, 1988). They, most likely, contributed to her motivation for going into teaching and enabled her to have a vision that schools could be different from those which she, herself, had experienced

to take orders from anybody anymore" Sally had resisted total internalization of the messages she had heard at school.

Anjon (1984) argues that, for girls, gender development involves not passive imprinting but an active effort to cope with and resolve contradictory social messages. Sally expected that her life would be like her mother's, but she also heard her father's message "You can be anything you want to be." She heard the message of the school, "If you cannot succeed according to our standards, you are a failure. You must abide by the rules of our society." But, she also heard the words of her mother: "You are not stupid. You just need some more time." and the words of her father, "You can handle it."

Sally carried the messages of both her mother and her father out into the world. In the corporate world, Sally continued to hear conflicting messages. She was hired by a large corporation and entrusted with a responsible position. At the same time, she was excluded from the male social network. She was told you can rise as high as you wish, but she saw few role models at the top of the corporate ladder. She was told hard work and team spirit would facilitate her ascent, but she found that these were not enough. There were other rules of the game on which continued success was dependent. Those rules Sally was aware of but could not or would not negotiate. At the point that Sally became sensitive to the disparity between her values and those that were necessary "to break through the glass ceiling" (Morrison, et. al, 1987) to higher career accomplishments, she began to feel a sense of alienation. This alienation appears to have evolved from the schism between the values Sally internalized as a schoolgirl and those she observed as a career woman. Consciously or subconsciously, a career in teaching may have appealed to Sally as a way to circumvent that schism.

Doing the right thing for the right reason, resisting that which seems unjust has always been Sally's way. However, her resistance has always taken the traditional womanly route of the passive form. In business, it was when things were not fair that she was least able to function effectively. She knows that within schools things will not always be just, but in her classroom this will be a primary goal. She sees the need to create a community of caring, connectedness, and justice as directly related to her choice of teaching as a career.

Discussion

The data emerging from this case study indicates that biography affects career motivation and career performance. Gender socialization is not the sole determinant of biography, but it appears to be an important component, one rarely considered in teacher research. Gender socialization appears to exert significant influence on who teaches, and, ultimately, on how and what is taught. While the findings of this case study cannot be generalized, they contribute to our understanding of why women choose teaching as a career change and what implications this choice may have for the growth and development of the indivdual and the growth and development of the field.

There is a body of literature that suggests caring and connectedness are strengths women may bring to the classroom (Gilligan,1982; Noddings,1984, 88). However, if the gains of the women's movement are to lead to a substantive change in the roles played by both men and women in society at large, rather than becoming just one more swing of the pendulum in the history of social thought, caring and connectedness must be preserved within a context of freedom and choice. "Mutuality and concern...are not in themselves enough to change the world; nor is the affirmation of

responsibility for others" (Greene,1988, p.85). The transformative vision of a career change teacher is unlikely to lead to personal fulfillment or educational reform unless this vision exists within an environment in which the esposal of traditional gender traits does not preclude freedom. A prerequisite for this environment appears to be an awareness of the dynamics of gender socilaization.

When a career change teacher steps into a the school environment, the environment so greatly responsible for shaping one's world view, the teacher is likely to respond as if following the steps in a familiar dance. Zeichner (1981) documents the frequency with which teachers abandon progressive attitudes acquired during their university experiences and assume a traditional stance upon entering their own classrooms. Those who choose teaching as a career change have had more experiences and more time in which to more fully integrate progressive attitudes. However, the data indicating Sally's desire to bind values espoused during her childhood years to the values of career life suggests that more recently acquired values might be subject to compromise. If career change teachers, or any teachers for that matter, are to have any hope of making their visions reality, they must consciously work to resist the status quo. To do so involves unveiling those aspects of things "hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity" (Wittgenstein in Sacks, 1985). Gender is a significant one of those aspects.

For women, according to Maxine Greene (1988, p.57), this means "to tear aside the conventional masks, the masks adopted due to convention or compliance, the masks that hide women's being in the world." Only by such a process of "unconcealment" (Heidigger in Greene, 1988, p. 58) is there any possibility that those who come to work within schools that are both

structurally and philosophically hierarchical, may realize their goals -- find the personal fulfillment they seek and facilitate true educational reform.

Implications for Teacher Education

The data included in this study, narrow though its focus is, has implications for programs of teacher education. The implications are of two types, those for the recruitment and selection of teachers and those for the conduct of teacher education programs.

Implications for Recruitment and Selection of Teachers

1. A new pool of teaching candidates may exist among those currently working in other fields. Initial career choice is not necessarily a choice forever. Recruitment procedures emphasizing specific ways in which career experiences are transferable into the teaching world might appeal to a large number of potential career changers.

2. Recruitment procedures are likely to be most effective when sensitive and responsive to the concerns of the times. Despite today's cultural emphasis on personal need and entitlement, there is a counter-culture of those who seek "to do something meaningful." Among these people, teaching is once again being viewed as a profession worthy of respect. In this context, the call for teachers who will serve as educational leaders appeals to those currently in other professions.

3. Selection procedures need to give careful consideration to the motivations of potential candidates. Career change teachers have the potential to serve either as a catalyst for educational change or as a reinforcement of those existent structures that impede change. Individuals attracted to a career in teaching by the opportunity it provides them to claim a place on a given rung of the social hierarchy and those who lack any clear

vision of teaching should be helped to clarify their own motivations and the realities of teaching before being accepted into teacher education programs.

Implications for the Conduct of Teacher Education Programs

Although it goes beyond the focus of this research to examine the ways in which existing teacher education programs meet the needs of career change teachers, data collected from observations and open-ended interviews suggested areas of concern relevant to the conduct of teacher education programs.

1. The data suggest that the experiences of women at home, at school, and at work have differed from those of men. Teacher education programs could help second career teachers by acknowledging these differences in a non-judgmental manner and providing a curriculum that addresses gender linked needs and strengths. This is true for all teachers, but career change teachers exchanging a traditionally male-dominated field for one that is female dominated have a special need for this experience.

2. Teacher education programs could help second career teachers to gain a better understanding of "the rules of the game." Educational reform calls for the sounding of the teacher's voice, but teacher education programs do not systematically teach women, long- socialized to the role of silent service, how to speak out effectively for that which they believe (Lanier & Little,1986). Sally, like other women interviewed in connection with this study, found the need for assertiveness to be problematic in her former career. If she is to find satisfaction in her role as teacher, she - like her more traditional counterparts - needs to be helped to develop the attitudes and skills neccesary for the roles of classroom leader and decision maker.

3. To countermand the pervasive messages that students like Sally have received throughout their home, school, and work experience, teacher education programs should model those processes of reflection and self-awareness they advocate in their students.

4. By emphasizing reflective teaching (Holmes Report,1986) as well as academic rigor and self-reflection, teacher education programs could help both second career teachers and their more traditional counterparts to better understand themselves and the environments in which they are working. Novices, like Sally, are frequently overwhelmed by the need to absorb new information and master new routines. The tendency for new teachers to be solely concerned with the minutia of daily life is well documented (Fuller,1969). Teacher education programs that integrrate theory and practice can help career change teachers to maintain their transformative vision of teaching.

5) Teacher education programs could help second career teachers to maximize their potential by providing a differentiated educational program. Sally believes that the interpersonal and organizational skills she acquired during her initial career will generalize into teaching. She entered teaching with a foundation that differed from that of students newly arrived from college, no matter how qualified the latter might be. While career change teachers stand as novices in the world of teaching, they are not novices in the organizational world, nor are they novices in the adult world. This differentiation needs to be articulated and considered in the development of teacher education curriculum.

It may be true that the implications discussed above do not fall within the scope of traditional teacher education programs. They may appear as additional responsibility, additional demands far exceeding the interest and

skills of many professors of teacher education (Lanier & Little,1986). However, it is generally recognized that the traditional ways have not been effective. Teacher education programs that do not address these issues are likely to graduate teachers who, oblivious to the ways in which their own attitudes and expectations have been shaped by gender expectations and the gender hierarchy of the schools, pass on to their students these same attitudes and expectations, thus circumscribing opportunities for themselves and for society as a whole.

Possibilities for Further Research

The data collected in this study suggests the need for additional research. Research involving larger samples of career change teachers is needed to ascertain whether the motivational factors emerging from this this study are commonly held. Large scale studies would also be valuable in documenting the scope of gender as an influence in shaping career motivation and career performance.

Longitudinal studies would be valuable in determining what influence the attitudes and expectations discussed in this study have on the classroom performance and the career trajectory of career change teachers.

The subjects in this study were all white, middle class natural-born Americans. Further research is necessary to understand how issues of race, class and cultural differences may affect the motivations of career change teachers and the attitudes and expectations that underlie these motivations.

It is the hope of the researcher that this study will stimulate further research that demonstrates the relationship between personal biography, career motivation, and classroom behaviors as well as research that

demonstrates the value of self-awareness as a component of effective teacher education programs.

> When teachers find no value placed on their reflections and beliefs, they are not encouraged to pierce the veneer of surface observables in search of deeper meanings. It is safer and probably more rewarding for them to play out the teaching role in a more limited way. The observable enactment of others' expectations become central and the educational setting becomes a place for performing roles. (Yonemura, 1986, p.123)

It is this "veneer" that holds together the structures that allow gender linked attitudes and expectations to function like natural law circumscribing behavior and diminishing opportunity for both teachers and students.. Research has the potential to pierce that veneer, revealing the potential that lies beneath, and creating a new sense of possibility that may pave the way for true educational and social change.

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